

## Milli Turkistan Journal's Ideological Approach

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### Abstract

*In various states of Europe Turkistani people taking into main consideration the idea of Independence of Turkistan managed to publish out diverse newspapers and journals. Among them were such media items like: "Milli Turkistan" (National Turkistan) (1942-1975, Berlin/Dusseldorf), published by Uali Kayumhan; "Milli adabiyat" (National literature) (1943-1945, Berlin) published by Uali Kayumhan, Majit Aitbayev; "Buyuk Turkeli" (Great Turkic state) (1962, Izmir) published by Hasan Oraltay and etc. Among these publications Milli Turkistan's role is great in respect to emigrated Kazakh literature: its situation, capability. There will be considered information about this journal's content and scientific importance in this article.*

### 1. Introduction

Turkistan legion consisted of people who had worked in a pre-war period in mass media like newspapers and journals namely writers who wrote fairly good masterpieces of prose and poetry. Moreover there were amateur writers that showed their capability for writing short stories and poems. In order to propagate against Soviet Union seriously Government of Germany taking the chance of emigrated and imprisoned Turkic nationalities' celebrities planned to permit them publishing in their native languages magazines and newspapers. To be opened these media items should have been serving from ideological point for Germany. The celebrities who wrote at pre-war period literature, and imprisoned becoming the members of Turkistan Legion did not only think about development of soldiers' political views but also they aimed to establish Turkistan national literature along with propaganda. From time to time there were published newspapers and magazines with ideological goal. The political magazine "Milli Turkistan" (National Turkistan) was being published twice in a month whereas "Milli Adabyat" (National literature) was once in a month. The magazine "Milli Adabyat" was a tool which played a great role in awakening the national identity of imprisoned soldiers. This magazine was so important due to fact that every letter of the published item delivered paradigm of Kazakh people and assisted to establish emigration literature. Also there worked in the position of editors such celebrities, and defenders of unity of Turkistan: Majit Aitbayev, Hakim Tynybekov and so on.

Among aforesaid publications "Milli Turkistan" became a magazine of publications of opinions, national, social-political, spiritual-cultural viewpoints of Turkistani emigrates. Consequently, all the materials given in these publications can remarkably illustrate Turkistan emigration literature's phenomena, characteristics, and its situation being far from Motherland in the course of studying Kazakh literature.

### 2. Research Status and History of Edition of the Magazine "Milli Turkistan"

"Milli Turkistan" commenced its edition from the June 15, 1942. As per division of edition period it has got 3 main periods: 1942-1945 (Berlin), 1949-1954 (Genève; Dusseldorf starting from 1952), 1962-75 (Dusseldorf). We admit that the first and foremost research was conducted by Turkish scholar Nurgul Uzunel's dissertation with title: "Turkistani press during emigration to Europe: Magazine "Milli Turkistan" (1942-1975)". Researcher in his work highly appreciated the published materials in the magazine by Kazakh, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Tajik, Tatar emigrants' opinions, social-political outlooks, fighters' spirits and their literary piece of work located in West Europe. Especially research was conducted on emigrants' identical point of view that came to West Europe either prior to World War 2 or post-war period, latter were captives, also the development of Turkistan ideology in context of ideological, social, spiritual fighting which were important events occurred on the editions. However researcher warning that as the period was state of war, the first part of edition (1942-1945) was not found fully, therefore he circumscribed with everyday news giving just brief information about literary articles.

Initially "Milli Turkistan" was intended to publish news from combat field along with news worldwide, memoirs of

soldiers in combat, also the national development of soldiers. This edition played a role with diverse description as academic book, notebook of emotions, national consciousness and outlook (Nurgül Uzunel, Avrupa Muhaceretindeki – 1942 - 1975). In the first article named as "Bizdin jol" (Way of ours) there was written about national wrestling against Soviet Union and its implication was: "We want indivisible, unique big Turkistan to be established and we should not lose our time, we have to strengthen our country from the points of politics, military, science also be ready to a great change. All we want is to work for one dream and goal. In this holy path people of Turkistan have to be co-operating with each other so that they could realize the dream. We do not have other alternative. Other alternatives are not needed too. Soviet Russia should remove their soldiers from the holy ground of Turkistan (Way of Ours – 1942). Such phrases imply that the main goal of the journal was to propagate the idea "Establishment of Turkistan". On the first page of the magazine Uali Khayum Khan published his articles. Khayum Khan presented in his article, dedicated to "Mustafa Shokhai", biography of Mustafa Shokhai, his deeds to unite Turkic people, his works, thoughts and outlooks (Zh.M.Akhmetova – 2004).

Publication of magazine "Milli Turkistan" hesitated Soviet Union enough. Because the "Turkistan National Committee" started not only to build communication among emigrant-activists from states like Europe, Iran, Pakistan, India, Arabic bay and Turkey but also unite them under the one ideology. Furthermore they gathered information from people who were colonized by Soviet Government, and edition mostly criticized the Russian policy in Turkistan. They kindly asked whole Muslim world to support them against Soviet Union. This situation was fairly dangerous for the Soviet Union as it was battling with Nazi German government, besides its stock for weapon lessened. Activist-emigrants either published their ideological articles or took steps to communicate with other foreign countries to conclude agreement. Conferences were held in Turkistan, Germany, United States of America, and Arabia. Such conferences mainly criticized the communistic policy; furthermore, unity of Turkic nationalities, their religion, spirituality, language, and traditions and customs were discussed. Brave actions of emigrant-activists made Soviet government to be afraid of, so they tried to vilify them as much as possible. Therefore Soviet government started anti-propaganda for emigrant-activists in West Europe among people of Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Uzbek nationalities. In mass media they were called as "traitor", "betrayer" and "hypocrite". In such cases as a means of the propaganda books, radio, theatre and cinema were actively used. For instance, Uzbek writer Sarver Azimov in his drama play "Bloody wine" besmirched Turkistan National Committee's President Uali Khayum Khan as "Traitor of Motherland". This play was performed for heads of communistic party and foreign ambassadors in Kremlin palace in Moscow. This action was intended to make misthought of Turkistan National Committee among foreign ambassadors. Despite this "Milli Turkistan" cooperated with East and Muslim world's mass media and attempted to show the real face of Turkic nations to the entire world. First phase of the magazine (1942-1945) was full of publications like literary-cultural and historic articles, along with brief information from battle site in every edition. Chief Editor Uali Khayum Khan on one hand arranged meetings with German authorities to take out from prison captives with Turkic origins. On the other hand he assisted this edition to make it the means of mass media which will serve for independence of the Turkistan nationality (Abdulahap Kara – 2002). Therefore he wanted Turkistan captives to fight against the war and for the "Establishment of Unique Turkistan".

### **3. General Issues of Turkic Nations Published in the Magazine**

Prior to publication the "Milli Turkistan" faced with number of the problems. Uali Khayum debated with Byelorussian people who serve in German army and who did not accept communism and bolshevism. They also wanted to have control over the nations under the Soviet Union. As the general alphabet was Cyrillic among ex-Turkistani nations (Kazakh, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Azerbaijan, Tatar and etc.) the Byelorussian wanted to publish a magazine in Russian language and in Russian Cyrillic. Uali Khayum Khan considered that there were five independent countries in Turkistan, for that only reason he wanted the magazine to be published in one understandable language for everyone. At this point he was supported by representatives who work in German Army's Chief-Commander Luderson and Dr. Von Mende. On the basis of these two supports German Government approved for the Magazine's language to be published in Shagatay language that is common for five nations. Shagatay language is mixed language of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages. Recovering the usage of the shagatay Turkistan National Committee wanted these nations to communicate with each other without any obstacles as in early years in Middle Asia. Approaching this aim they wanted to unite Turkic people in one place.

"The category that describes the nationality best is the language. Literature is the treasure that lives in the form of the language. If any nationality loses its language it stops to exist as a nationality too. Colonization policy devouring the nationality fully played a disgusting language policy against nationalities' languages. Language can distinctly express both colonization policy and decolonization one. It can be described within language issue fighting against colonization.

Language issue is a phenomenon that connected directly to literature and literary process entirely. This is a problematic issue to whole Turkic nations. Among factors for unison such as historical, cultural, ethnical, linguistic, religious factors linguistic one developed differently amongst Turkic nations' literature. Turkic language was considered as unique in the literature, and the Turkic nationalities' languages were considered as dialects of the Turkic language (Turkish Turks, Tatars), and at present it was divided into various languages (Turkistani) even though it was one language in the past. The first one suggested bringing together dialects, but the latter agreed to make unique language. Turkic world felt the necessity of having common language" (Hayit Baymirza – 2004). Emigrant-activists considered as a common language the Shagatay language. Therefore to establish ideological basis of the legion there was conducted theoretical-methodological aspects of the Shagatay language. In order to realize this aim they used linguistic scientists' opinions and hypothesis. As an example, on the second publication of the magazine state consultant, turcologist Johannes Benzing published an article implying as following: "Independent Turkistan's writing language should be one language, and it should be Shagatay which is the magazine "Milli Turkistan" is published in" (Johannes Benzing – 1942). In the article J. Benzing depicting the runic and uigur languages' scribing in the conclusion he bespeaks about Shagatay. Author said: "After converting to Islam Turkistan nation applied in the writing Arabic letters abandoning uigur one. Even though taking just letters it kept as uigur letters despite dialectical characteristics they wrote in the common and unique language. Of course, sometimes dialectical aspect was expressed; however it was understandable to each Turkistan nationalities. This language was named after second son of the Tamerlane Shagatay, after reign of the Temir khan this writing was called shagataysha. The famous writers and poets who wrote in shagataysha were Koja Ahmed Yassawi, Alisher Nauai, Babyr Sultan, Abilgazy Bahadur Khan and etc. In spite of the Shagatay has got lots of Arabic-persian words, from the grammar point it was totally in Turkic language. Shagataysha became common language to Turkistan nationalities upon bolshevism. And the people who abandoned the state because of the bolshevism policy i.e. emigrants wrote in shagataysha. Mustafa Shokhay's magazine "Jas Turkistan" (Young Turkistan 1929-1939) was the good example of the shagataysha, magazine was published in shagataysha with Latin letters. Author says it as a continuity and appropriateness of the past (Johannes Benzing – 1942). Moreover in the article common aspect to whole Turkic languages synharmonism was mentioned. And the Arabic-Persian languages' fans were harming synharmonism law of the Turkic language. These matters still remain problematic issues of the present time.

Nonetheless principles of the articles, publications in Kazakh and Tajik languages imply that shagatay were not used satisfactorily. It can be perceived that articles of Khayum Khan were published constantly within 1942. The rest members of commissions were taken from captives by German army.

Khayum Khan on one hand endeavored to get consent of German authorities, on the other hand he tried to reach leadership. Instead of being considered in front of Turkistan captives as a person assigned by German Army he preferred to be deemed as leader of the emigrant-activists wrestling for the Independence of Turkistan. Though it was a brief time, as he cooperated with well-known leader Mustafa Shokhayuly, it assisted to get fairly good attention by Turkistan nationalities. However he wanted to possess higher degree of leadership. In "Milli Turkistan" he wrote as following:

"If Turkistan is now in a good condition and they are respected by German government, it is not just blind luckiness; this respect came upon hardworking lasting for 20 years" (Uali Khayum Khan – 1942).

Among the articles published in "Milli Turkistan" there can be noticed that he tried to possess further authority:

While Mustafa Shokhay was working in France, Khayum Khan was dealing with the Turkistan issue in Germany. Both of them aimed at one goal. This goal was the Independence of Turkistan. When Soviet-German war started Uali Khayum Khan travelled to Paris and took Mustafa Shokay to Berlin with himself. Shaking his hand they made an agreement. When Mustafa Shokay was about to pass away, he told to Khayum Khan the following: "You will face difficult time, and you are alone now. I leave all the issues of Turkistan to you. When there are youngster captives from Turkistan, it will lead to Independence of Turkistan" (Uali Khayum Khan – 1942).

As understood from above Uali Khayum Khan attempted to show his deeds as continuation of the Turkistan national activity commenced in 1920. Turkistan national unity was in Turkey, as its juridical residence was far away of their support, he wanted to carry on the continuation in the shadow of Mustafa Shokhay. If he became heir of Mustafa Shokhay, he would be a leader undoubtedly. In this course he would get not only support from captives but also emigrants of Turkistan folk (A.Bakirov – 1994).

Every edition of the magazine "Milli Turkistan" it contained photos from different angles of cultural and spiritual heritages located in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Photos of Amir-Temir Mausoleum in Samarkand, Biby Hanym's Mausoleum, Shyr-Dor constructed by Jalangtos Batyr, Religious schools of Tilla-Khari, Sanjar Khan's palace in Merv, Koja Ahmed Yassawi's Mausoleum in Turkistan were published. Explanations next to photos were translated into German too. This explains that editors intended to introduce to German people cultural-spiritual heritages of Turkic people. Бұл арқылы редколлегия мүшелерінің немістерге түркі халықтарының мәдени-рухани құндылықтарын

таньтпақ болған ниеттері байқалады. Along with publication of Turkic sacral heritages they published Berlin palaces constructed in Middle Ages.

Most of literary articles published in "Milli Turkistan" were from Kazakh, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Turkmen poets and writers. Especially Maulikesh Khaiboldin with pseudonym "Asan Khaigy" wrote articles as short stories, satirical articles. In his works such as "Turkistan Shaiyr, adebs (literary mens) wishes", "Black cat", "Culture of Turkistan", "I saw", "Words from Turkistan Army" were written about poets, literary men among legion, information about culture and arts of Turkistan (A.A.Zhalmyrza – 2010). "Ghali Altai" was pseudonym of Hakim Tynybekov. He published articles like "Demonstration of Makhambet and Isatai", "Protector family". Apart from these Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Turkmen poets and writers played a great role for faming the magazine among legion's army. Uzbek writer A.Wahab published prosaic works as "Victory holiday", "Hello, Mother", "Our Battalion" and some poems. Deputy President of "Turkistan national committee" Kyrgyz, Sattar Almanbetov popularized his articles likewise "About Magazine Turkistan", "Torture departments of Soviet Union". Poems of Majit Aitbayev, Hamza Abdulin, Olmes, Auez were published. We can notice that the aforementioned works were appreciated highly by soldiers of legion. Egemberdy was a legion's soldier. He wrote: "I always read Milli Turkistan. This magazine taught me many things. Before I knew little about Turkistan. Reading the magazine continuously I grasped lots of knowledge about Turkistan. Especially I learned about the role of Turkistan culture in history". And another soldier called Saiduly wrote the following: I have just been 17. In other words I was born in Soviet time. I started studying the school when I was ten, whereas I have never heard about Turkistan before. My six year knowledge was nothing in comparison with a year time in legion. In this point Milli Turkistan became my teaching sensei. What's more I have known that Turkistan was motherland of my ancestors who fought to protect it". Amateur journalist Abdirakhman wrote the following: "Before I was an amateur journalist. I just published brief articles in Milli Turkistan. This magazine educated me so that I could write good articles. Now I started to write not only brief articles, but also poems" (Abdirakhman – 1943). Publications of poets who wrote in the sake of Turkism i.e. Magjan, Fitrat, Sholpan occurred in the magazine not just by chance. In the magazine appeared works of Ahmet Baitursynuly, Ilias Jansugurov, Saken Seifullin who were victims of repression. Literature researchers also published their criticizing articles for works of Abai, Makhambet. In other words magazine paid attention either to literature or the investigation in this field (Makhambet - 1942). Apart from above, point is that the Soviet Union's policy like "class literature", "socialistic realism" method on-going media were strongly criticized by the magazine. Generally, Soviet Union's colonization policy i.e. denationalization of Turkistan nationalities worked for wiping the national-cultural, public, social identification of Turkistan nationalities. And this was confronted with 7 ways in Milli Turkistan: 1. Battle against religion and atheism; 2. Economic policy of Soviet Union; 3. Establishment of class literature of Soviet Union; 4. Appearance of Soviet History; 5. Advantage of Russian language; 6. Reform in education and culture; 7. Policy of nations (Tevfik Evci – 2006). Investigating aforesaid directions, plusses and minuses of Soviet policy were determined by Uali Khayum Khan, Hakim Tynybekov, Bamyrza Haiyt, Kharys Khanatbai, Isa Yusuf Alptekin, Sermet Bulakbasi, Momynjan Vadi Teshebai, A. Zavgii, A. Tashkentli and other emigrants thoroughly studied difficulties like repression in 1937, forged famine, Chauvinism of Stalin's government (Orhan Çınar – 2010).

#### 4. Conclusion

In 1951 some groups parting from "Turkistan national committee" started as an independent organization. Their head was Kharys Khanatbai. Afterwards Khanat Kharysbai commenced to publish journal "Turkeli (Turkic people)". Turkeli became media means of "Independent Turkistan Committee" starting from September of 1951. Kharys Khanatbai and Oralbek Akhmetjan's articles were published in the journal frequently. Withal Milli Turkistan's journalists A.Zavgii and Erkin sometimes published their articles. Journal published the articles with Latin graphic but in Shagatay. Turkeli propagated to unite against bolshevism and start national demonstrations whole Turkic origin emigrants. The journal from content point has similarities with Milli Turkistan, it is because authors published their works in both journal and magazine. Of course, this matter did not sound good to Uali Khayum Khan who thought himself as a leader of Turkic origin emigrants. So, he published his standpoint declaring the following: Founders of Turkeli Zaki Ualidi Togan and Khanat Kharysbai were united with Russian and they had got one plan. They wanted to unite with Bolsheviks and be on the same page. This situation would affect the unison of Turkistan in the future. On the contrary, Turkeli described the members of Turkistan national committee as Khayumshy and criticized them for misleading governors of Europe and Asia. Kharys Khanatbai seperated from Uali Khayum Khan, because there was a doubt that Uali Khayum Khan killed Mustafa Shokhai. As in an article published in Turkeli Uali Khayum Khan was mentioned like he detested national socialism, and did not show enough respect to Mustafa Shokai, instead he tried to take his position, in the end he killed Mustafa Shokhai. Nonetheless among scholars it is known that NKVD members popularized this on purpose. For example Akhat Andijan gives the following thoughts: Mustafa Shokhai was not killed by Uali Khayum Khan. It can possibly be Soviet spies. Or he

can pass away due to the typhus (A.Ahat Andican – 2003). On top of that in the investigation of Amantai Kaken called "Turkistan legion" it is mentioned the following: Uali Khayum Khan killed Mustafa Shokhai, and took his position TNC. This point was proved by perpetrator Hakim Tynybekov and witness Shloms. But we do not believe in this. Because Hakim Tynybekov was not close to Mustafa when this happened. He heard from Kharys Khanatbayev. Olsch told to Shloms. However none conducted special investigation on reasons of passing away of Mustafa, there is no official conclusion. Therefore it is better to consider these doubts as hypothesis (Amantai Kaken – 2000). In 1998 in the published article "Zaman-Kazakhstan", Khayum Khan says that he did not kill Shokhai (K. Abdukap – 2004). Despite this and his behavior that demanded others to show him respect, we can assume that he wanted to get rid of Mustafa Shokhai as soon as possible. Still as we cannot investigate this in our research, we would like to leave this matter to corresponding scholars who will investigate it fully.

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